

SMALL NATIONS IN MULTINATIONAL OPERATIONS
AND ARMENIAN PERSPECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

SMALL NATIONS IN MULTINATIONAL OPERATIONS AND ARMENIAN PERSPECTIVES, by Lieutenant Colonel Samvel M. Sargsyan, Armenian Armed Forces, 89 pages.

Given the recent worldwide political developments of nations, Armenia's future involvement in peacekeeping and multinational operations requires constant analysis of the events, facts, processes, and plans of the key actors in the region. The research includes how Armenia, as a small country, should take advantage of unique national capabilities and prioritize the resources for integration in multinational formations in accordance with existing geopolitical situation and planning considerations. Armenia's participation in multinational operations must outweigh the possible disadvantages and meet the objectives of the national security strategy, and the domestic and foreign policy. Meanwhile, taking into consideration certain political, military, and regional factors, Armenia must balance its complementary foreign policy and cooperation with the West and Russia.

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ACRONYMS

IPAP	Individual Partnership Action Plan
ISAF	International Security Forces in Afghanistan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OIF	Operation Iraqi Freedom
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Current Reality and Friction Points

The Republic of Armenia is a sovereign, democratic, legal, and social state governed by the constitution and laws of the state government. Its powers are divided into three branches: the legislative, executive, and judicial powers.¹

The modern territory of the Republic of Armenia covers only a small portion of ancient Armenia, which is well known as one of the oldest civilizations in the world. Due to its geographical location and other important factors, for centuries ancient Armenia was constantly subjected to foreign incursions, which eventually resulted in the loss of autonomy in the 14th century.²

The ruling of the Ottoman and Persian empires for several centuries jeopardized the existence of the Armenian nation. The eastern part of ancient Armenia was occupied by Russia during the 19th century, and the western part remained under the Ottoman Turkish government. In 1894-1896 and 1915, the then Turkish government planned and executed genocide of 1.5 million Armenians.³

The eastern portion of Armenia (which remained in the territory of the former Soviet Union) declared independence from the Russian Empire on May 1918, but was

¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, “Republic of Armenia,” accessed 24 May 2014, <http://www.mfa.am/hy/armenia-overview/>.

² Ronald Grigor Suny, “Armenia,” Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed 24 May 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/35178/Armenia>.

³ History, “Armenian Genocide,” A&E Networks, accessed 24 May 2014, <http://www.history.com/topics/armenian-genocide>.

occupied by the Soviet Red Army in 1920. Later, Armenian leaders continued to be preoccupied by the conflict with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, a region which was mainly populated by Armenians, and which was annexed to the Soviet Azerbaijan in 1920 by Moscow.⁴

The current stage of the conflict started in 1988, when in response to the self-determination of population; the Azeri authorities organized ethnic cleansing of the Armenian population living in the territory of Azerbaijan, including Nagorno-Karabakh. Proclamation of Nagorno-Karabakh independence from Azerbaijan led to obvious aggression and large-scale military actions against the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. The result was catastrophic, tens of thousands of deaths and casualties, over a million internally displaced persons, and economic disaster.⁵

In May 1994, Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Armenia signed a ceasefire, which despite the numerous violations, is still effective. The international community, represented by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Minsk Group (Russia, the United States, and France), attempts to solve this ongoing conflict through peaceful negotiations. Since 1992, the group proposed several options and solutions, but all of them were rejected by Azerbaijan.

⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, "Armenia," The World Factbook, last updated 23 June 2014, accessed 24 May 2014, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/am.html>.

⁵ Office to the President of the Republic of Armenia, "Nagorno-Karabakh Republic: History and Current Reality," accessed 9 March 2014, <http://www.president.am/en/karabakh-nkr/>.

According to the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia*, one of several key issues of the country is the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.⁶ Armenia believes that the improvement and establishment of long-term peace is only possible with the direct participation of Nagorno-Karabakh in the peace negotiations. The following are the three principles from the Armenian point of view in the peace process.

1. The settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict must be based on the recognition of the Nagorno-Karabakh people's right to self-determination.
2. Nagorno-Karabakh should have uninterrupted land communication with Armenia, and fall under the jurisdiction of the Armenian side.
3. The security of Nagorno-Karabakh should be internationally guaranteed.⁷

As the president of the Republic of Armenia announced in 2010, the Nagorno-Karabakh has no future as a part of Azerbaijan, and whatever the solution, it must emanate from the will of the Karabakh people. The president also mentioned that Azerbaijan does not have legal, political, or moral grounds for its claims over Nagorno-Karabakh.⁸

The results and consequences of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict will affect the entire region for a long time, and definitely the balance of powers in the South Caucasus

⁶ Republic of Armenia, *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, 26 January 2007, accessed 23 March 2014, http://www.mfa.am/u_files/file/doctrine/Doctrineeng.pdf.

⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, "Foreign Policy," accessed 9 March 2014, <http://www.mfa.am/en/foreign-policy>.

⁸ "Serzh Sargsyan: Nagorno Karabagh has no future within Azerbaijan," *Armenews Blogspot*, 2 December 2010, accessed 9 March 2014, <http://recordarmenews.blogspot.com/2010/12/serzh-sargsyan-nagorno-karabagh-has-no.html>.

will be shifted quite often. Because of this conflict, Armenia was left with no ground transit with Russia, and the country is now essentially cut off from any opportunity of obtaining real and effective assistance from its strategic partner. As another result of this conflict, Armenia decided to respond to Turkey's proposal to build relations and open the closed borders (which were closed in 1993 in support of Azerbaijan for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict).⁹

The entire process was named a "football diplomacy" which was launched by Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan and his counterpart, Turkish President Abdullah Gül, when they attended the World Cup 2010 qualifying soccer match in Yerevan in September of 2008. In response to that event, Armenian president attended the next game in Bursa in October of 2008. Switzerland and the United States have been mediating for months to bring both parties to the table. France and Russia were also reported to be supportive to this idea.¹⁰

The reactions were very different in Yerevan and Ankara. The idea that Turkey might open the border with Armenia was not welcomed in neighboring Azerbaijan, which most possibly was one of the reasons for the failure of this process. As a result, those enormous efforts that have been made by several countries eventually failed for numerous reasons. In 2010, the Armenian government asked the president to halt the

⁹ Kornely K. Kakachia, "Challenges to the South Caucasus regional security aftermath of Russian-Georgian conflict: Hegemonic stability or new partnership?" *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 2011): 15-20, accessed 24 May 2014, <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1879366510000382>.

¹⁰ Muriel Mirak-Weissbach, "'Football Diplomacy': Armenia-Turkey Rapprochement," *Global Research*, 7 September 2009, accessed 24 May 2014, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/>.

ratification in parliament of the agreement normalizing relations with Turkey. The reason for that was Turkey's refusal to ratify the protocols without preconditions, which mainly referred to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.¹¹

Later, the Armenian president announced that the country had decided not to exit the diplomatic process, but rather suspend the process of ratification of the protocols. He also mentioned that Armenia believed that this action represented the best interest of Armenia. The country is looking forward to normalizing relations with Turkey and will not remove its signature from already signed protocol.¹²

The aforementioned friction points are the catalyst from which the Republic of Armenia's foreign policy is derived. Due to the unresolved problem over the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the lack of diplomatic relations, as well as other issues with Turkey (including the official recognition of Armenian genocide in 1915), the borders between the two countries remain closed.

Twenty years have been passed since a cease-fire agreement was signed and enacted between Armenia and Azerbaijan concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. During this time, there were no big changes. A large number of Armenia Armed Forces occupied World War I style trenches on a more than 500-mile long line of contact with

¹¹ "Armenia suspends normalization of ties with Turkey," BBC News, last updated 22 April 2010, accessed 24 May 2014, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8636800.stm>.

¹² Charles Recknagel, "Armenia Suspends Ratification of Turkey Deal," Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty, 9 November 2014, accessed 24 May 2014, http://www.rferl.org/content/Armenias_Ruling_Coalition_Calls_For_Suspending_Ratification_Of_Turkey_Deal/2021055.html.

Azerbaijan.¹³ The situation is relatively calm along the Turkish border, but another large portion of Armed Forces is mandatorily located there also.

The historical background is important, as past events have shaped both the diplomatic and international policies of Armenia. This is especially true with the ongoing Nagorno-Karabakh conflict with Azerbaijan and genocide events of 1915 with Turkey. The next section specifically focuses on the how Armenian forces have participated in multinational operations in order to build relationships and gain experience outside their own region of responsibility.

Armenian Participation in Multinational Operations

Today, we have more than 110,000 men and women deployed in conflict zones around the world. They come from nearly 120 countries . . . Thanks to their efforts, life-saving humanitarian assistance can be delivered and economic development can begin.¹⁴

Armenian participation in multinational operations, particularly in international peacekeeping missions started in 2004, when the first Armenian peacekeeping platoon consisting of 34 soldiers and officers joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) peacekeeping mission in Kosovo. Taking into consideration the fact that Armenia is a relatively a “small nation”¹⁵ with limited resources and budget, and that Armenia had no experience in such missions, the peacekeeping platoon was attached to

¹³ Neil Harvey, “Wires from the front line: Nagorno-Karabakh,” BBC News, last updated 18 May 2004, accessed 24 May 2014, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/this_world/one_day_of_war/3622431.stm.

¹⁴ Ban Ki-moon, “Secretary-General’s message on International Day of UN Peacekeepers,” United Nations, 29 May 2008, accessed 7 March 2014. <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/?nid=3191>.

¹⁵ Small Nations is defined in the Key Terms section.

the Greek Armed Forces, and consequently, the tactical control of the mission was exercised by the Greek command. The Armenian peacekeeping participation in the Kosovo Force operation continues up to this day. Currently, the platoon is deployed at the US Army's Bondsteel Military Base, which is located near the city of Urosevac. Armenian peacekeepers are responsible for conducting patrols, checkpoint security tasks, riot and crowd control operations, and convoy activities.¹⁶

In January 2005, an Armenian peacekeeping unit consisting of drivers, de-miners, and doctors was deployed in the southern region of Iraq. This time too, the peacekeeping unit was attached to a coalition partner contingent. Despite the fact that most of the times the unit was conducting separate missions, it largely relied on US sustainment and the support of other coalition partners. This was the first time, when the fact of Armenian diaspora was considered.¹⁷ According to various estimates, about 20,000 Armenians lived in the entire Iraqi territory before Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) began.¹⁸ The mission was prolonged several times and in 2008, Armenia withdrew its forces from Iraq. The entire mission bore a humanitarian nature and Armenian participation in OIF was introduced to the Armenian society as a contribution to international security and support to Armenian diaspora living in Iraq.

¹⁶ Embassy of the United States, "American Troops Deploy for Kosovo," US Department of State, 6 July 2012, accessed 7 March 2014, <http://armenia.usembassy.gov/news070612.html>.

¹⁷ The diaspora consists of Armenians who live beyond the borders of Armenia and occupy all regions of the world.

¹⁸ The information is according to the head of the Armenian Apostolic church in Iraq. Valentinas Mite, "Iraq: Tiny Ethnic-Armenian Community Survived Hussein, Making It In Postwar Times," Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty, 6 July 2004, accessed 7 March 2014, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1053693.html>.

The most important and probably the largest Armenian Armed Forces contribution to Peace Support Operations is the participation in the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. Within the framework of ISAF, the Armenian contingent was deployed under German tactical control and assumed the security of the Kunduz Airport and Mazari Sharif. Since 2011, the number of peacekeepers in Afghanistan increased to 125, including five Operational Mentor and Liaison Team Officers who were primarily responsible for training and assisting the Afghan national army leaders.

Regarding future plans and developments, Armenia will soon join the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) mission. In October 2013, the Armenian defense minister met his Italian counterpart and discussed Armenian future involvement in the UNIFIL mission. Both sides made an agreement to complete the legal procedures in short period and launch activities related to deployment, such as a memorandum of understanding and pre-deployment training.¹⁹ Currently, Armenia has an officer in the UNIFIL mission who has been deployed as a military observer. As a member of the United Nations (UN), the Republic of Armenia makes its own contribution to the UN peace support operations. It started in 2004 with only 34 soldiers and officers supporting international peacekeeping operations in Kosovo.

¹⁹ “Armenian subdivision to participate in peacekeeping mission in Lebanon,” Armenpress, 23 October 2013, accessed 7 March 2014, <http://armenpress.am/eng/news/737578/armenian-subdivision-to-participate-in-peacekeeping-mission-in-lebanon.html>.

The number of peacekeeping operations in which Armenian Armed Forces participate changes frequently. Some of missions are terminated,²⁰ and some of them for various reasons no longer require military presence in the area of operation.²¹ Currently, the Republic of Armenia deploys 151 members of the armed forces in three different missions.

With Armenia participating in multinational operations, relationships with NATO countries have been established. The next section of this study examines the relationship between Armenia and NATO and the significance of an individual partnership action plan that guides Armenia's participation.

Armenia-NATO Relationship: Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP)

The Armenia-NATO relationship has an important role in Armenia's security and defense system. One of the main reasons is that Armenia has adopted a European way of development and that NATO is the main body for providing European security. It appears that along with other developments, the military relationship with NATO is increasing every year. The Republic of Armenia is interested in continued development of the relationship and cooperation with NATO. The main goal of this partnership is the development of Armenian Armed Forces by using the North Atlantic experience. The cooperation with NATO countries certainly can benefit the armed forces from the perspective that we can emphasize the areas that require further changes or

²⁰ Armenia had a UN military observer mission in Syria from the beginning of the Syrian conflict. The entire mission was terminated by the UN after four months.

²¹ In October 2008, Armenia ended its military presence in Iraq. "Armenia Ends Iraq Mission," Asbarez, 10 October 2008, accessed 8 March 2014, <http://asbarez.com/59229/armenia-ends-iraq-mission/>.

enhancement.²² The cooperation between Armenia and NATO is in accordance with the IPAP. The plan has to be revised and regularly updated by reciprocal working groups and workshops. The updated version is the *Individual Partnership Action Plan 2011-2013 Armenia*, which consists of approximately 155 combined actions.

The document includes sections such as economic development and policy priorities, combating terrorism and organized crime, cyber defense, democratic oversight of the defense and security sector, military justice, human rights in the armed forces, public information, science, civil emergency planning and environment, military interoperability, and other vital sections.²³ Among the all-important sections, there is the defense security and military issue chapter that is partly related to what Armenia is planning to do in the future regarding multinational operations. The following chart describes the actions that should be taken by Armenia in order to implement the necessary requirements.²⁴

²² Ministry of Defence of Republic of Armenia, “International Military Cooperation,” accessed 9 March 2014, <http://www.mil.am/1298097191>.

²³ North Atlantic Council, *Individual Partnership Action Plan 2011-2013 Armenia*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, accessed 8 March 2014, http://www.mfa.am/u_files/file/IPAP-2011-2013-ENG-Declassified.pdf.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. 2.

Table 1. Requirements Chart of Multinational Operations

Action # 1	Establish one brigade using NATO standards with the aim of having the capacity to deploy and sustain up to one battalion with combat support and combat service support.
Action # 2	Put in place mechanisms to ensure that NATO standards are applied within units made available for NATO-led operations.
Action # 3	Complete the development of a light maneuver medical treatment facility to support disaster relief at home, to support deployed troops, or to deploy independently this unit in support of international operations.
Action # 4	Use the experience gained in the establishment and the training of these units as a catalyst to improve training and promote the gradual transformation of other units of the armed forces as necessary.
Action # 5	Ensure Occupational Capability Concept Level-2 NATO evaluation and certification of one battalion from the Peacekeeping Brigade and its Combat Support and Combat Service Support units.
Action # 6	Seek support for the training of specialists in operational and exercise planning to support the training and preparation of troops for operations.
Action # 7	Appoint staff officers in NATO PSE posts to provide them with international operational and exercise planning and staff work experience.

Source: Created by author using information from North Atlantic Council, “Requirements Chart of Multinational Operations,” accessed 8 March 2014, http://www.mfa.am/u_files/file/IPAP-2011-2013-ENG-Declassified.pdf.

The following paragraphs explain how each action is connected with the Armenian Armed Forces involvement in multinational operations.

Action #1: The Armenian Armed Forces Peacekeeping Brigade was established in 2001. Initially it was a battalion. In 2007, the battalion was reformed into a brigade. The brigade is the primary source of peacekeepers, the so-called pool of forces from which all multinational operations are being deployed. It is significant to continue to develop the brigade according to NATO standards.

Action #2: For implementing the second action, the brigade frequently conducts exercises in accordance with NATO standards including small-scale staff exercises.

Action #3: The medical company of the brigade is regularly trained in order to provide adequate support for deployed troops. Last time the medical platoon was trained by Kansas National Guard instructors in 2013.²⁵

Action #4: One of the most important issues with being trained by NATO and partner nations is that the unit is receiving an irreplaceable experience and sometimes even an alternate approach to a problem. Training has a positive influence on the development of the non-commissioned officer corps.

Action #5: The Operational Capabilities Concept is designed for non-NATO nations in order to get the necessary training and join the multinational NATO-led operations. More details about the Operational Capabilities Concept program will be provided in chapter 4.

Action #6: This action includes training of specialists in operational and exercise planning areas where the members of the armed forces receive the required training. After training, most of them have deployed in various missions.

Action #7: This part of the cooperation is usually conducted during the multinational exercises and operations. Members of the armed forces who are assigned in different positions gain experience in working in multinational and multicultural environments.

²⁵ Megan Hart, "Kansas National Guard members return from Armenia," *Topeka Capital Journal*, 9 April 2013, accessed 8 March 2014, <http://cjonline.com/news/2013-04-09/kansas-national-guard-members-return-armenia>.

The *Individual Partnership Action Plan* is the fundamental document that is describing and framing a large portion of the Armenia-NATO relationship. Of course, this is not the entire cooperation, as there are several other plans and agreements that are not covered here. This is only to emphasize from the multinational operations perspective the spirit and level of cooperation between the Republic of Armenia and NATO. Along with these cooperation actions, there is also a State Partnership Program between the Kansas National Guard and the Republic of Armenia.

Kansas National Guard State Partnership Program with Republic of Armenia

I think the State Partnership Program, dollar for dollar, may be one of the most efficient and effective programs that we have at our disposal as combatant commanders.²⁶

The State Partnership Program provides large cooperation capabilities for US states with European countries to support the command's security cooperation objectives. Currently 22 countries from the former Soviet Union, former Yugoslavian Republics, or Warsaw Pact countries participate in the State Partnership Program.²⁷

The Kansas National Guard and the Republic of Armenia partnership is one of 22 European Command partnership programs. The Republic of Armenia signed a bilateral relationships agreement with the US Department of Defense and the state of Kansas in 2003 establishing the Kansas-Armenia State Partnership program. The partnership is

²⁶ Donna Miles, "EUCOM's State Partnership Program Becomes Global Model," *American Forces Press Service*, 16 May 2012, accessed 8 March 2014, <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=116355>.

²⁷ United States European Command, "National Guard State Partnership Program," accessed 8 March 2014, <http://www.eucom.mil/key-activities/partnership-programs/national-guard-state-partnership-program>.

designed to develop self-sustaining relationships between the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Armenia and the Kansas National Guard.²⁸ The partnership between the Kansas National Guard and the Republic of Armenia was a great contribution to the development of the Peacekeeping Brigade of Armenian Armed Forces. Over 1,000 members of the Armed Forces have been deployed in Kosovo Force, OIF, and ISAF missions. Currently, the Kansas National Guard is focusing on the development of the capabilities of the Armenian Armed Forces Peacekeeping Brigade and the Expeditionary Medical Support System.²⁹

The improvement program is directed to enhance the Armenian Armed Forces' future involvement in multinational and peacekeeping activities. This unique cooperation in the framework of the partnership program gives the members of the armed forces a great opportunity to visit and get familiar with the US military educational system and practices. It is also important since our armed forces are trying to gradually develop enlisted and non-commissioned officer academy models. According to the bilateral program, Kansas National Guard instructors regularly visit Armenia to conduct a number of educational courses, such as combat first aid, demining procedures, staff responsibilities, and nuclear biological, chemical, and radiological defense courses. The last activity in Armenia was conducted in September 2013, where the members of the Kansas National Guard participated in Operational Capabilities Concept Program through

²⁸ Kansas National Guard, "Kansas-Armenia State Partnership Program," Kansas Adjutant General's Department, accessed 9 March 2014, <http://www.kansastag.gov/NGUARD.asp?PageID=333>.

²⁹ Ibid.

which they learned how to evaluate the military unit, prior to its deployment for a NATO-led multinational operation.

In addition to the visits from Kansas counterparts, a number of visits from Armenian army officials to numerous military installations and units in Kansas have been conducted. The Kansas National Guard and the Republic of Armenia partnership program benefits not only Armenia, but also Kansas, because as the current Kansas National Guard Adjutant General Lee Tafanelli said, “it is the other and the fresh look that Armenian officials can gave us and make us rethink whether the way things always have been done is the best way to do them.”³⁰

It is worth mentioning that the Armenia-Kansas State Partnership Program launched by the US and Armenia defense departments later expanded into a wider cooperation and included other areas such as emergency management and law enforcement cooperation. The National Guard staff provides training and expertise in relevant areas, hosts exchange visits, and shares its best practices with Armenian representatives from the Emergency Management Ministry and the National Police, enhancing this exemplary partnership program and turning it into a successful practice from year to year.

Key Terms

This section will provide definitions of many of the terms used in this research in order to provide a clear understanding for the reader.

³⁰ Armenian News Agency, “Armenian Delegation in USA in Framework of Kansas Partnership,” Armenpress, 16 May 2013, accessed 9 March 2014, <http://armenpress.am/eng/news/719002/armenian-delegation-in-usa-in-framework-of-kansas-partnership.html>.

Alliance: The relationship that results from a formal agreement between two or more nations for broad, long-term objectives that further the common interests of the members. See also coalition; multinational.³¹

Coalition: An arrangement between two or more nations for common action.³²

Commonwealth of Independent States: The association was formed in 1991 by 12 former Soviet Socialistic Republics (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Moldova, Uzbekistan). The function of the Commonwealth of Independent States are to coordinate its members' policies regarding their economies, foreign relations, defense, immigration policies, environmental protection, and law enforcement.³³

Collective Security Treaty Organization: The Treaty was signed on 15 May 1992 between the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation, and the Republic of Tajikistan, for a five-year term, with the possibility of further prolongation. The purposes of the Collective Security Treaty Organization are to strengthen peace and international and regional security and stability and to ensure collective protection of independence, territorial

³¹ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 3-16, *Multinational Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2013), 10.

³² *Ibid.*, 20.

³³ Encyclopedia Britannica, "Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)," accessed 6 September 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/128945/Commonwealth-of-Independent-States-CIS>.

integrity and sovereignty of member states, in the attainment of which member states shall give priority to political means.³⁴

Individual Partnership Action Plan: IPAP is a plan which is open to countries that have the political will and ability to extend their relationship with NATO. The IPAP is designed to bring together all the various cooperation mechanisms through which a partner country interacts with the alliance, improving the focus of activities to better support their domestic reform efforts.³⁵

Memorandum of Understanding: In the context of a Peace Operations, a Memorandum of Understanding is an agreement between the sponsoring organization and contributing countries concerned primarily with logistic and administrative matters such as financial management of the Peace Operations.³⁶

Multinational Force: A force composed of military elements of nations who have formed an alliance or coalition for some specific purpose. Also called MNF.³⁷

Multinational Operations: A collective term to describe military actions conducted by forces of two or more nations, usually undertaken within the structure of a coalition or alliance.³⁸

³⁴ Collective Security Treaty Organization, “Collective Security Treaty Organization,” accessed 18 July 2014, <http://www.odkb-csto.org/>.

³⁵ North Atlantic Treaty Organization, “Individual Partnership Action Plans,” last updated 6 May 2014, accessed 6 September 2014, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49290.htm.

³⁶ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 3-07.3, *Peace Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2012), 12.

³⁷ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 1, *Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2013), 165.

Peacekeeping: Military operations undertaken with the consent of all major parties to a dispute, designed to monitor and facilitate implementation of an agreement and support diplomatic efforts to reach a long-term political settlement.³⁹

Peacekeeping Operations: A broad term that encompasses multiagency and multinational crisis response and limited contingency operations involving all instruments of national power with military missions to contain conflict, redress the peace, and shape the environment to support reconciliation and rebuilding and facilitate the transition to legitimate governance.⁴⁰

Peace Enforcement: Application of military force, or the threat of its use, normally pursuant to international authorization, to compel compliance with resolutions or sanctions designed to maintain or restore peace and order.⁴¹

Small State: May also be called a microstate. According to Merriam-Webster dictionary it is “a nation that is extremely small in area and population.”⁴² Numerous criteria and indicators might help us to identify a small country. Among them are the Gross Domestic Product, the military capabilities, the population, and the geographical sizes of the country. Nevertheless, smallness should be examined under the theory of relativity: the country is small in compare to which country. An example of this could be

³⁸ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 3-16, 10.

³⁹ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 3-07.3, 13.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 111.

⁴¹ Ibid., 10.

⁴² Merriam-Webster, “Microstate,” accessed 6 September 2014, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/microstate>.

that Armenia is a small country compared to Russia but bigger than Albania. This is why the physical measurement is not sufficient to describe the country small. A central factor or criteria for determining whether the country is big or small, is the ability to project power in the country, in the region, among the neighbors, or in the international arena. Another important criterion used to describe the country as big or small might be the economic and military factors.⁴³

Limitations

The primary focus of this research paper falls on the diplomatic, political, and military aspects of multinational operations. The implications of economic and financial benefits from a country's participation in multinational operations are not discussed. In addition, given the fact that the capabilities and dislocation of Armenia's Armed Forces are considered sensitive and not officially disclosed, this research paper does not provide the number and the origin of armed forces involved in the security and protection operations of the country.

Significance of the Study

Small nations' participation in multinational operations is always a subject of international concern. Armenia's participation in multinational operations must outweigh the possible disadvantages and meet the objectives of the national security strategy, the domestic and foreign policy. In view of these deliberations, the purpose of this research is to explore and analyze the factors and issues to be considered by the leadership of the

⁴³ "Grand strategy for small countries," *National Security Policy Blogspot*, October 2011, accessed 26 May 2014, <http://nationalsecuritypolicy.blogspot.com/2011/10/grand-strategy-for-small-countries.html>.

Republic of Armenia while determining whether to join any multinational operation, as well as discuss the potential challenges and benefits of such involvement for the country and its armed forces. It also provides general discussion of the challenges and successes yielded by participation of small nations in such operations. Armenian Armed Forces can use the analysis in this research for future reference and determination of its actions in this area.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many books and publications have been written about small countries involved in multinational operations, but none of them covers the Armenian participation. Every country is unique and represents its own interests in the global world. There are several considerations concerning Armenia's participation in multinational operations. The existing literature presents information to categorize and analyze current strategies that other countries utilize concerning these operations. By analyzing the literature and researching current strategies, a new methodology or approach can be developed concerning how to best answer the research questions posed.

As previously mentioned in the research question, there are several important contributing factors to be considered by the Republic of Armenia in order to participate in multinational operations. For better understanding, it is necessary to provide brief background information about the region, and what the current reality is, and the major friction points involved that Armenia faces. There are many books and publications describing the conflict of Nagorno-Karabakh. Some of them are written by Armenian and Azerbaijani authors some of them by other authors. The most reliable sources of information are the presidential and Ministry of Foreign Affairs web pages. In addition, a large number of web publications are available about the Armenian and Turkish relationship. Some of them are well presented and described in this research.

Another important aspect to consider as background information is the Armenian participation in multinational operations. The Armenian Armed Forces peacekeeping brigade is the main unit for conducting multinational operations. The author has been

serving in this unit since its foundation. Therefore, the largest portion of the information is provided by the author. An additional part of the information provided that will direct the reader to shape a better understating of the problem, is the cooperation of the Republic of Armenian with NATO. The basis for this information is the IPAP. Again, some of the information provided is based on the author's knowledge due the fact of attendance at several workshop activities with the Defense Policy Department of the Armenian Ministry of Defense. The document is not restricted and is available on the Defense and Foreign Affairs Ministries web pages.

The last important piece of overall background information is a paragraph that describes the US Kansas National Guard State Partnership Program with the Republic of Armenia. The greatest portion of the information presented comes from various internet publications and printed materials provided by the online Combined Arms Research Library. Although there were not many publications available regarding the topic, for information reasons it is significant for one to understand how the Kansas National Guard Partnership Program is associated with Armenian participation in multinational operations.

Chapter 4 covers the largest part of this research. The materials that have been used to cover this chapter are selected cases, books, public statements, internal government documents, published articles, military doctrines of different countries and annual reports. This chapter will initially review the most relevant doctrinal publications, available internet articles, books and journals, and subsequently answer the following secondary questions:

1. What political and military considerations does Armenia need to consider when conducting multinational operations?
2. How does the leadership of Armenia maintain a balanced foreign policy with both Russia and the West by participating in multinational operations?
3. What is the role of Armenian diaspora and how can the diaspora influence multinational operations decisions?
4. How do the Armenian Armed Forces benefit from multinational operations and what are the challenges that the military encounters?

Thereafter, the chapter consists of a review of literature that addresses the experiences from the multinational operations being used in this thesis. The material covers selected case studies and is provided from a combination of books, public statements, internal government documents, and published articles in military or other type of publications. The chapter is divided in four subcategories.

The first category is doctrinal analysis. In this category, the main documents analyzed and presented are the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia* and “The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia.” The *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia* is derived from the national interests of the Republic of Armenia. In this context, what is the national interest of Armenia? Two primary sources of information have been used to analyze and present the issue. The first one is “Some Framing Concepts for Strategic Understanding” provided by the US Army Command General Staff College reading materials and the second source is the explanation of national interest in Hans Morgenthau’s *In Defense of National Interest: A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy*. Both documents have been analyzed and

presented from the research questions perspectives. Those documents will help the reader to understand the Armenian doctrinal approach for multinational operations, which in this case is the national security strategy, according to which the country implements its foreign policy.

The second category is political considerations and the diaspora factor. This consists of an analysis of the Australian Defense Doctrine Publication 00.3, *Multinational Operations*, and US Joint Publication 3-16, *Multinational Operations*. Both publications refer to multinational operations. Publications were used to provide a different view of how the other nations are considering the political and diplomatic considerations during the planning and executing process of multinational operations. The Armenian factor was analyzed and combined, based on presented information. The second part of the political consideration refers to the Armenian diaspora factor in the planning process. For better understanding, the subchapter explains the meaning of diaspora and how the Armenian diaspora emerged. The largest part of the information comes from electronic and internet publications, such as the *Armenian Diaspora Yearbook*, available at the official webpage of the Ministry of Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia.

The third category is regional consideration and key actors factors in planning processes. When discussing regional consideration the country's foreign policy, which determines the general direction of the country's international relations, cannot be disregarded. One of the available sources of information was *The International Politics of Eurasia, Volume 4, the Making of Foreign Policy in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* by Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha. One of the articles in this book, published by Rouben Adalian, describes and presents the Armenian complementary

foreign policy between the West and Russia. In this context, the foreign policy of the Republic of Armenia tries to implement the balance of power strategy, which is well presented by Kenneth Waltz in his *Theory of International Politics*, and describes in an excellent way the foreign policy of Armenia. Another good representation of countries' foreign policy implementation is the *Small States and International Security: Europe and Beyond*, edited by Clive Archer, Alyson J.K. Bailes, Anders Wivel. It is a collection of various articles and publications talking about microstate securities and security dilemmas that the small states have to face with their neighboring countries. Another significant available publication talking about the small countries' abilities and decision balancing methods is the "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power" by Stephan M. Waltz. The existence of a regional factor like Russia is one of the many things that must be considered in any strategic decision making process. During the strategic analysis, these factors could be the key for development and implementation of an effective strategy. With better understanding of these factors, the country's leadership will be able to develop and achieve policy goals and objectives.

The fourth category is military considerations and perspectives. Since there is no written documentation or publication in Armenia for armed forces' participation in multinational operations, the main sources of this subcategory relied mainly on US Joint Publication 3-16 for multinational operations and Joint Publication 3-0, *Joint Operations*. The first provides guidance and principles for the US Armed Forces when operating as part of a multinational force and describes multinational operations. The second publication describes the fundamental operational aspects of joint operations and

provides guidance on the conduct of the full range of military operations at various levels.

The country's participation in multinational operations might entail different challenges including those of a common military nature, that any army can face, as well as those of a political nature. In this regard, consideration might be given to the phenomenon given to checks and balances in "National Security Powers: Are the Checks in Balance?" presented in the US Army Command and General Staff Officer Course C200 block, Civil Military Relations, which presents the principle of government under which the separate branches are empowered to prevent actions by other branches and are induced to share power. In addition, the principle of Broken Dialogue, which means frustration or a gap between the civilian leaders and the militaries presented by CGSOC, C-204 Strategic Concepts, "Civil-Military Friction and Presidential Decision Making: Explaining the Broken Dialogue" must be considered. According to this phenomenon, it is another challenge that includes elements of political involvement during the planning and execution of multinational operations. Taking into consideration the fact that the author has participated in two multinational operations, another large part of the analysis is based on those experiences and lessons learned.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the process used to answer the question: what are the political, military, and diplomatic contributing factors of Armenian participation in multinational operations as a paradigm within the family of small and developing countries? To answer the main question, the four sub-questions below will be examined and analyzed:

1. What political and military considerations does Armenia need to consider when conducting multinational operations?
2. How does the leadership of Armenia maintain a balanced foreign policy with both Russia and the West by participating in multinational operations?
3. What is the role of Armenian diaspora and how can the diaspora influence multinational operations decisions?
4. How do the Armenian Armed Forces benefit from multinational operations and what are the challenges that the military encounters?

The previous chapter was designed to examine all available resources to answer those questions. This chapter will focus on the method to analyze the available literature. The research methodology for this research is based on the method in Sharan B. Merriam's book, *Qualitative Research, A Guide to Design and Implementation*.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Sharan B. Merriam, *Qualitative Research, A Guide to Design and Implementation*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 265.

Method

Using the qualitative research methodology, the focus will be in the meaning of and understanding of the problem. As a primary instrument for the research, the data collected will be analyzed and examined to provide the most feasible answer for the aforementioned questions. It is not the author's intent to predict the outcome of the research process, but to mainly concentrate on the process of analysis rather than the outcome.

Data Collection

The data that have been collected for the research is divided into three categories. The first category is the documentation available in the Armenian and English languages that mainly consists of government publications, documents and annual reports, and reviews. The collected data will be used to shape the background of the proposed question to explain to the reader why the question exists. First, it is necessary to analyze the Armenian relations with the United States and NATO, and to present the current situation regarding the Armenian participation in multinational operations. It is also important to examine and consider the influence of other international or regional actors.

The second category is the online data provided by the Combined Arms Research Library. These are the US Army tactical publications, Army field manuals, articles, research, and books in electronic forms. Part of the data provided will be used for the same purpose as the first category. Another part of the data presented is used in chapter 4, which will examine and present the military or political considerations and perspectives. Some of the US Army publications provided will be used partly because they are written from US Army perspectives, but could be properly used by other nations after detailed

analysis. The third category of collected data is the author's experiences from previous assignments and deployments.

Data Analysis

There are several ways the data analysis was utilized for the research. The main data analysis methodology for the research is going to be interpretive. Thus, the author will provide a logical interpretation and sequence of the data that is going to be examined. In some cases, due to the geographical location of Armenia, it is possible that a theoretical lens methodology will also be used.⁴⁵ This might include cultural and historic analysis of the proposed problem. This methodology will also be used in chapter 4. As described in *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, by John W. Creswell, the analysis will be shaped around the social, political, and historical context of the existing problem. During the analysis in chapter 4, the advantages and benefits of multinational operations section of the research, a comparative methodology of data analysis will be used. The main idea here will be to show an example to make a comparison across the US tactical or field manuals and try to adjust them with current requirements of the Armenian Armed Forces regarding multinational operations.

Bias and Assumption

However, as a primary instrument for the research, the author may have biases that might affect the study. The interpretation cannot be separated from the author's

⁴⁵ John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2008), 175.

background and nationality. Those biases come from the fact that the topic is related to the Armenian Army. The author will attempt to eliminate those biases or to identify and monitor them in order to prevent shaping the interpretation of the problem incorrectly.⁴⁶

Translation Issues

Most of the data collected is in English. Considering the topic, there are some documents that are in the Armenian language. For validity of the information, the English translation will be provided for the documents used.

⁴⁶ Merriam, 15.

CHAPTER 4

DOCTRINAL ANALYSIS: NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY AND MILITARY DOCTRINE APPROACH

Multinational operations have made significant progress in the last 20 years. Those include multinational operations under the umbrella of the UN, various peacekeeping operations of African Union, NATO-led OIF and ISAF missions in Afghanistan, as well as the European Union's peacekeeping mission in the Balkans. Some of them were very successful, and others were not (African Union-UN Mission in Darfur,⁴⁷ UN Assistance mission in Rwanda).⁴⁸ A country's participation in multinational operations is a subject of national security strategy directly connected with the concept of national interest and reflected in the foreign policy of the country. The Armenian national security document is the capstone manuscript, which provides guidance for the armed forces participating in peacekeeping or multinational operations overseas.

The *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia* is the policy of the country that is designed to guarantee individual and public security, as well as provide grounds for sustainable development and preservation of the Armenian identity.⁴⁹ The *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia* is the document on which the

⁴⁷ Warren Hoge, "UN Official Warns of Darfur Failure," *The New York Times*, 10 January 2008, accessed 22 March 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/10/world/africa/10nations.html?_r=0.

⁴⁸ Nicole Winfield, "UN Failed Rwanda," Global Policy Forum, 16 December 1999, accessed 22 March 2014, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/201/39240.html>.

⁴⁹ Republic of Armenia, *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia*.

country bases and implements its foreign policy. It is a viable document and subject to further changes based on geopolitical, international, and internal developments that may affect the country.

The Armenian National Security Strategy is derived from the national interests of the Republic of Armenia. By stating this, a question remains: what is the national interest of Armenia for participation in multinational operations? Before exploring that issue, the national interest must be defined. There are several explanations of national interest, starting with the one given by Niccollo Machiavelli. Trying to describe the struggle of the Italians for their independence, Machiavelli stated that one can have moral goals, but without adequate power, interest, and desire to use it, he will not be able to complete them. Hereby, nothing can be more interesting than the national interest and willingness of Italians, therefore apparently immoral ends could be employed for its accomplishment.⁵⁰ However, personally, Hans Morgenthau gives the best explanation of national interest. Accordingly, there are two levels of national interest: vital and secondary.⁵¹ The first is somewhat easy to define. The vital national interest emphasizes

⁵⁰ Gene M. Lyons and Michael Mastanduno, eds., "Some Framing Concepts for Strategic Understanding," *Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), reprinted in Department of Joint Interagency and Multinational Operations, C-204, Strategic Concepts, reading part A (Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Army Command and General Staff College, 2014), 1.

⁵¹ Hans Morgenthau, *In Defense of National Interest: A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), quoted in Michael G. Roskin, "National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy," in *U.S. Army War College Guide to Strategy*, eds. Joseph R. Cerami and James F. Holcomb, Jr. (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2001), reprinted in Department of Joint Interagency and Multinational Operations, C-204, Strategic Concepts, reading part A (Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Army Command and General Staff College, 2014), 4.

that security, people, institutions, fundamental values of the nation must be protected by the state, and this interest can be extended overseas as well. Secondary national interest is the one which will require a compromise and conciliation. Normally there are beyond the country's borders and there are not demonstrating any threat to the country's sovereignty. In case of secondary interest, there is always a risk of grow into a vital. Usually it is extremely hard to define and to find a solution on the issue. The basic characteristic of the secondary national interest is that it is outside your borders and cannot be considered a threat to the country's sovereignty. Occasionally, the secondary has the ability to grow and become vital. According to Hans Morgenthau, the difference between the two is the level of importance to the country versus ideological differences.⁵²

One of the several imperatives for the implementation of the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia* is the combat ability of the armed forces. According to the National Security Strategy, the national leadership recognizes the inability of an individual state to solve the modern challenges alone in the present-day world. Hence, Armenia strives to collaborate with other countries in military or political areas for peace and security reasons. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Armenia have made an important contribution in international peace and security efforts.⁵³ The contribution may seem insufficient and not large enough, but taking into consideration the unresolved issue over Nagorno-Karabakh, the armed forces' involvement in providing security and stability in the region and the relatively limited capabilities of the army, one can see its importance. In 2006, General George W. Casey, the commanding general of

⁵² Lyons and Mastanduno, 1.

⁵³ Republic of Armenia, *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia*, 8.

Multinational Forces Iraq, while talking about the involvement of the Armenian contingent in OIF, said: “Small but important.”⁵⁴

In addition to the combat ability, the armed forces are actively engaged in international cooperation and provision of international security. According to “The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia,” those activities have three components, which not only address international security and cooperation, but also guarantee the security of the Republic of Armenia.⁵⁵ The component is the military cooperation contribution in order to implement significant reforms in the military security and defense system. The second component is the dynamic military cooperation that is focused to increase the interoperability possibilities in previously declared Armenian Armed Forces’ units, in order to develop trained and equipped units capable of participating in international and peacekeeping operations around the world. As a final component, it introduced the participation of interoperable units of the armed forces in multinational and joint activities in order to contribute to international security and stability.

Another important part of National Security Strategy is the external security strategy, according to which the Republic of Armenia is keeping pace with international developments. In order to promote the country’s national interest, Armenia adopted active international engagement policy. This policy requires active participation in international developments. This policy focuses on areas such as participation in global

⁵⁴ In November 2006, during the Armenian Minister of Defense and General Casey meeting in Iraq, the author was the liaison officer in Baghdad and accompanied the Minister of Defense.

⁵⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, “The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia,” 11 accessed 23 March 2014, http://www.mfa.am/u_files/file/doctrine/Doctrineeng.pdf.

security efforts, war against terrorism, and various multinational cooperation and peacekeeping operations.⁵⁶

Despite the limited capabilities, the Republic of Armenia has demonstrated the ability to be efficient and successful in multinational and peacekeeping operations. Since Armenia is a relatively small state with limited capabilities of the army, the country has had to adopt creative approaches to training and other requirements. The idea “strategic corporal,” which refers to low-level unit leaders who are able to take independent actions and make major decisions, could be used in the case of Armenia.⁵⁷ In the military environment, there is a strong belief and evidence that the complexity of future conflicts will require an improved and increased level of junior leadership.⁵⁸ This can be equally effective in conventional warfare and peacekeeping operations. If this idea is acceptable, then as a country, Armenia should definitely apply creative training approaches by using the essential requirements for being successful and professional. For the last five years, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Armenia conducted various peacekeeping missions around the world. Most of them were about providing security to a number of military and civilian installations. Armenian peacekeepers gained significant experience and

⁵⁶ Republic of Armenia, *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia*, 12.

⁵⁷ General Charles C. Krulak, “The Strategic Corporal: Leadership in the Three Block War,” *Marines Magazine* (January 1999), accessed 23 March 2014, http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/usmc/strategic_corporal.htm.

⁵⁸ Major Lynda Liddy, “The Strategic Corporal: Some Requirements in Training and Education,” *Australian Army Journal* 2, no. 2 (Autumn 2005): 139-140, accessed 23 March 2014, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/documents/liddy.pdf>.

expanded their capabilities in this area. It is an apparent option of international resources that could be considered and used during the planning and participation processes.

By analyzing the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia* and “The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia,” it can be assumed that in the process of providing international security and participation in various peacekeeping operations, the armed forces strongly adhere to international requirements and rules. The participation of the armed forces in multinational operations is not against the national interest.

Moreover, it is critical to the national interest of the Republic of Armenia. However, the fact that the participation is not against our national interest does not mean that the army must blindly follow the regulations and rules. The participation is unique itself and requires detailed analysis of different factors. The participation in these operations enhances the ability to perpetuate the country’s national interest, and each operation must be individually analyzed based on such factors as geopolitical developments around the world, e.g. the latest crisis in Ukraine and other cases related to the Caucasus Region.

Undoubtedly, involvement in multinational operations shapes a positive image for the country, particularly in the international arena. However, it also creates some challenges for the country. Hereby, the benefits for the country to get involved in multinational operations, as well as the limitations and challenges a small country like Armenia might face during such operations, will be analyzed in the next chapter.

Political Considerations and Perspectives

Where commonality of interests exists, nations will enter into political, economic, and military partnerships. These partnerships can occur in both regional and

worldwide patterns, as nations seek opportunities to promote their national interests or seek mutual security against real or perceived threats.⁵⁹

Participation in multinational and peace support operations is an important foreign policy instrument for the Republic of Armenia to contribute to international security and stability. While countries cooperate for a certain period for a common goal, each country may still have its own political, economic, diplomatic, or other interests.

Armenian participation in multinational operations started in 2004, when the first Armenian peacekeeping platoon consisting of 34 soldiers and officers joined the NATO peacekeeping mission in Kosovo. Since 2004, the Republic of Armenia has made significant progress in the number of deployed troops. Although participation in multinational and peace support operations can improve the country's reputation and credibility, there are certain considerations that the country's government has to analyze before making any significant decision. These considerations involve risks, which also have to be considered during the planning process. One of the principal considerations that the country has to consider is the political one.

Success in multinational or peace support operations is partly subject to the political agreement that should be achieved and maintained during the planning and execution process of operation. According to Australian Defense Doctrine Publication

⁵⁹ American, British, Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Armies, ABCA Publication 332, *American, British Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand (ABCA) Armies Coalition Operations Handbook*, ed. 4, ABCA, 14 April 2008, 11, accessed 28 March 2014, http://pksoi.army.mil/doctrine_concepts/documents/ABCA%20Coalition%20Opns%20HB%202008.pdf.

00.3, the political consensus for multinational and peace support operations is based on three factors: legitimacy, lead nation credibility, and civil authority and control.⁶⁰

In the case of Armenia, legitimacy is the legal basis in terms of international and Armenian laws and regulations. Every decision regarding the multinational or peacekeeping involvement has to be presented in the Parliament of the Republic of Armenia and be approved by the latter. The decision of the parliament is only valid for one year and has to be prolonged or terminated with the same procedure. It is very important to achieve political consensus among the different political parties in the parliament regarding the Armenian participation in international operations.

The credibility of the leading nation and organization is also an important factor for political consideration. Taking into consideration the limited resources of Armenia, often times the armed forces will contribute to multinational operations via assistance of other nations. In case of small countries, the leading nation is expected to have the political will and capability to provide adequate assistance, which can be reached through political and diplomatic dialogues, and should be based on good relationships between the countries.

Another consideration that could have political implications is whether Armenian military personnel during the operation will be led by another country (e.g. Armenia has a good relationship with the Republic of Georgia, but for political or ideological reasons

⁶⁰ Australian Department of Defence, Australian Defense Doctrine Publication 00.3, *Multinational Operations*, ed. 2 (Canberra ACT: Department of Defence, 3 June 2011), 80, accessed 28 March 2014, <http://www.defence.gov.au/adfwc/Documents/DoctrineLibrary/ADDP/ADDP00.3-MultinationalOperations.pdf>.

the idea of placing Armenian troops for multinational operations under the Georgian command might not be accepted).

The third component of political consensus is the civilian authority and control. Throughout the entire operation, the civilian authorities control the militaries in accordance with Armenian laws and regulations. The control process starts from the political level through the Ministry of Defense and continues to national contingent level via different mechanisms that the armed forces are implemented (for example: usually the Armenian Armed Forces are under tactical control of the lead nation, but the operational control is implemented by national authorities). Multinational operations are generally considered as extremely political, and in most cases, nations are reluctant to contribute forces. Leading nations usually work closely with partner nations to coordinate and support political decisions.⁶¹

On 9 July 2009, the former NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe General John Craddock, during his speech “NATO Must Find Better Ways for Nations to Participate” mentioned that in most cases, nations do not support NATO-led operations because of government’s inability to communicate to its own population the importance of the contribution these types of actions have towards national security.⁶² He also emphasized the government’s role in communicating to citizens why the decision was made to participate in a multinational or NATO-led operation.

⁶¹ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publications 3-16, 88.

⁶² C. Todd Lopez, “Craddock: NATO must find better ways for nations to participate,” The Official Homepage of the United States Army, 10 July 2009, accessed 28 March 2014, http://www.army.mil/article/24183/Craddock__NATO_must_find_better_ways_for_nations_to_participate.

In summing up the political considerations for Armenia's involvement in multinational operations, it can be assumed that leading nations understand the challenges for small nations in the decision-making processes. It can also be assumed that the contribution to multinational and peace support operations must represent and lead to the desired situation for the country. Therefore, any participation must be carefully examined by the political authorities and delivered to the appropriate audience in order to avoid future political issues or other implications.

The Factor of Armenian Diaspora

Oh! Armenian People, Your Salvation Lies Only in Your Collective Power.⁶³

Several factors that the governments should consider before they commit to participating in international operations have been discussed. The factor of Armenian diaspora that is discussed in this section is probably unique only to the Republic of Armenia. If this research were only meant for Armenian readers, the meaning of diaspora and how the Armenian diaspora emerged would not require explanation.

The Armenian diaspora is a term used to describe the expatriate Armenians, living outside of Armenia. Most Armenians in the diaspora do not originate from the current Republic of Armenia, but from Western Armenia (modern day Eastern Turkey), mainly those who descended from the survivors of the Armenian Genocide in 1915. Throughout

⁶³ Yeghishe Charents, Quoted in Florence Avakian, "FAR Introduces New Ways to Assist Armenia's Youth," The Armenian Reporter, 25 January 2014, accessed 28 March 2014, <http://www.reporter.am/go/article/2014-01-25-far-introduces-new-ways-to-assist-armenia-s-youth>. Yeghishe Charents was an Armenian poet and public activist born in 1897. For his political approaches he became a victim of Stalin's political repressions and died in a prison hospital in 1937.

history, there were three important facts that contributed to the formation of the Armenian diaspora.⁶⁴

The first period is until 1895, when there was a huge migration of Armenian merchants to Europe and other parts of the world. The second period was during World War I, and the main stage of formation of the current Armenian diaspora. The Turkish Ottoman government systematically executed and deported Armenians from their historic homeland. Because of Armenian Genocide, it is estimated that approximately 1.5 million Armenians were killed; hundreds of thousands were forcibly moved to desert areas to die. The remaining population was scattered all over the world. That is how the modern Armenian diaspora was formed: nearly 1.5 million Armenians live in the United States, two million in Russia, 750,000 in France, and so on.⁶⁵ The third stage of diaspora formation is from the beginning of 1990 until today. The breakup of the Soviet Union, the catastrophic earthquake in 1988,⁶⁶ the Nagorno-Karabakh war and refugees coming from Azerbaijan, the energy crisis and the economic tension contributed to the demographic shifts. As a result, more than a million Armenians joined the worldwide diaspora.

⁶⁴ Ministry of Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia, “Speech by RA Minister of Diaspora Hranush Hakobyan at the scientific conference on ‘Armenia-Diaspora Partnership: Past, Present and Future’,” 6 September 2011, accessed 30 March 2014, http://www.mindiaspora.am/en/Speeches_of_minister/1581.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ More than 20 towns and 342 villages were affected and 58 villages were completely destroyed. More than 25,000 people died, 19,000 injured, and half a million were left with no home. US Geological Survey, “Historic Earthquakes, Spitak, Armenia, 18 December 2007,” US Department of Interior, accessed 30 March 2014, http://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/world/events/1988_12_07.php.

Today the number of Armenians worldwide is estimated around 11 million, while the population of the Republic of Armenia is only 3.2 million. Some Armenians in diaspora were forced to depart their homeland, but others left due to a fallen economy.

The diaspora is an important factor that the Republic of Armenia has to consider when joining multinational operations. Sometimes, nations actively or openly participate in multinational operations due to different regional factors. In the case of Armenia, such a factor could be the Armenian population scattered all over the world. In OIF, the Armenian participation was named as a humanitarian mission. According to different sources, there were 35,000 Armenians living in Iraq, mainly in Baghdad, Kirkuk, and Basrah. This was an important element for the government strategy to share a strategic message with the population to avoid various or conflicting opinions or questions from the public, such as, “why should we care about Iraq?” or “we should help our fellow brothers and sisters.” The multinational operations are not only peace support operations, but these can also be for humanitarian assistance or disaster relief operations, where the participation of the combat armed forces is not required.

During the planning process of multinational operations, it is also important to cooperate with the regional Armenian diaspora communities, their leadership, assemblies, and associations, i.e. key organizations that are primarily responsible for and are in charge of Armenian diaspora and preservation of its identity and unity. In case of the absence of those organizations, the Armenian Apostolic Church and its diocese undertake such responsibility. Usually those organizations are in close cooperation with the government, and their opinion must be considered during the planning process. For example, in the case of Lebanon which has a large Armenian community, it would be

important to see how the Armenian diaspora in Lebanon will react to our future participation in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon mission, whether the diaspora will support this kind of involvement, etc. These and other questions should be considered while planning involvement in multinational operations.

The vision of the strong Armenian diaspora in the future should be built based on traditional and social values. Every Armenian who lives overseas is enriching these values with new elements while maintaining principles of tolerance, dialogue, and respect for different cultural traditions. The diaspora has always had an important role in shaping the Republic of Armenia's foreign policy. Even in 2012, when the current president, Serzh Sargsyan, was running for his second term, he visited most of the largest Armenian diaspora communities during his election campaign, including the United States, Russia, Argentina, and France.

The Armenian diaspora is the other half of the Armenian people, half of the heart of Armenia; it worries about the nation's concerns, rejoices in the success of our country, and strongly contributes to the preservation and enhancement of cultural identity in Armenia and abroad. The role of the Armenian diaspora is irreplaceable in positioning the country in its multinational operations. However, it is not the only important factor in this regard. Another vital aspect that should be considered in interpreting a country's multinational activities is the regional factor, which is analyzed in the upcoming chapter.

Regional Consideration

As discussed in the previous chapter, participation in multinational operations requires comprehensive analysis of all relevant factors. Regional location and neighborhood of the country, i.e. regional consideration is an indispensable part of such

analysis. By discussing regional consideration, the country's foreign policy cannot be disregarded because it determines the general direction of the country's international relations. Foreign policy usually regulates and dictates the countries' relationships with other countries in accordance with existing goals and objectives. The foreign policy of the Republic of Armenia tries to implement the balance of power strategy, which is well presented by Kenneth Waltz in his *Theory of International Politics*, and describes in an excellent way the foreign policy of Armenia. According to the author, the balance-of-power strategy begins with the assumption that countries will look for their own preservation at the minimum and for domination at the maximum.⁶⁷ As it is generally described in Waltz's theory, the Republic of Armenia is using all available means and resources to achieve the desired ends. The means are accordingly divided into two categories, i.e. internal means through which Armenia attempts to increase its economic capacities, military strength and develop clever strategies, and external means through which Armenia attempts to expand partnerships, and strengthen existing alliances.

Considering this, it is important for the Republic of Armenia to prioritize its relations with regional key players and neighboring countries. Accordingly, the small state is normally vulnerable in its relations with the outside world. Waltz viewed the small size of the country more as a psychological question than as an issue of limited resources, and called the vulnerability of the small states a security dilemma.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1979), 118.

⁶⁸ Dr. Harry R. Yarger, "Strategic Theory for the 21st Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy" (Monograph, Strategic Studies Institute, The U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, February, 2006), accessed 12 September 2014, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB641.pdf>.

As a result of complexity of the region and the current environment, strategic decisions will always create a “security dilemma” for smaller states (in this case for Armenia) and that other states and/or actors existence and status must be considered. Any decision from the country that is meant to change the status quo between friends or enemies creates an element of instability and introduces an element of risk.⁶⁹

Based on the above discussion, it can be assumed that the most determining demand for the sovereignty of a small state is the security issue. The challenges that greatly impact a small nation or state to meet those security challenges is the ability to defend their territorial integrity, maintain the independence, and to survive in the international arena. Certainly, small states with limited military capabilities, technologies, and personnel will generally seek alternative security strategies in order to survive external threats.⁷⁰

Therefore, small states join alliances in order to display strength in numbers and avoid domination by stronger countries in an attempt to maintain a balance of power across specific regions. According to Stephan M. Walt, countries will join alliances and keep the power of the balance for two main reasons.⁷¹ The first reason is survival. This is the phenomenon of alliance with the dominant power, which means that alliances are kept with dominant nation states in order to ensure their national security is maintained.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Stephan M. Walt, “Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power,” *Journal of International Security* 9, no. 4 (Spring, 1985): 5.

The second reason is that the country joins the weaker side. The stronger country will increase its influence because the weaker side has greater need for support and security.

In the case of Armenia, there are several factors in favor of its joining stronger states, including the factor of security. It is important to mention that from the moment when Armenian foreign policy becomes partly dependent on regional power, some of the important decisions will have to be considered from that perspective. Consequently, the regional consideration and the key actor's involvement in the decision making process regarding Armenia's participation in multinational operations, is an important planning factor. In this circumstance, for the Republic of Armenia, the regional and key factor that should be considered is the Russian Federation, which is a strategic partner for Armenia due to several important reasons listed below.

The first reason is the historically friendly ties between the Armenians and the Russians. The relationship between Russia and Armenia dates back to the time of Peter the Great. Although even before that, a significant number of Armenians immigrated to Russia. Another significant stage of the history goes back to 1827-1828, and the war between the Russian and Ottoman Empires. For Armenia, Russia was often considered as a protector of identity for Christian subjects in South Caucasus.⁷²

The second reason is the level of the economic relationship. According to the National Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia, the trade circulation between Russia and Armenia in 2013 exceeded one billion US dollars. This number also makes Russia the most important economic partner for Armenia.

⁷² Luigi Villari, *Fire and Sword in the Caucasus* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1906), 65-69, 144-145, accessed 13 April 2014, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/20893145/Fire-and-Sword-in-the-Caucasus-by-LUIGI-VILLARI>.

The third reason is Russia's role and efforts in solving the unresolved Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Given the current conflict solution, negotiations are held in the framework of the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe Minsk Group from 1992 (Russia, the United States, and France).

The fourth reason is Armenian diaspora in Russia. According to various publications and statistics, approximately two million Armenians live in Russia.⁷³ After the collapse of the Soviet Union, most of them left the country for better jobs, and improved standards of living with the hope of starting new lives.

The fifth reason is the 102nd Russian Armed Forces base in Gyumri. According to the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia*, the Russian military presence in Caucasus, specifically in the Republic of Armenia, is an important factor for Armenia's security and an important factor for maintaining the political and military balance in the Caucasus.⁷⁴ The Republic of Armenia and the Russian Federation jointly guard the Armenian-Turkish borders and cooperate in air defense.⁷⁵

The sixth reason is the strategic and military partnership between the countries. The strategic partnership between the two countries is also demonstrated by the

⁷³ Yerkrmas, "The Number of Armenians in Russia," 18 December 2012, accessed 11 November 2014, <http://www.yerkrmas.org/2012/12/18/armyane-v-mire-chislennost/>.

⁷⁴ Jim Nichol, *Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2 April 2014). Russia maintains the 102nd Army base in the city of Gyumri. The number of soldiers in 2013 was 3,500.

⁷⁵ Republic of Armenia, *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia*, 17.

Collective Security Treaty Organization and by Commonwealth of Independent States.⁷⁶

According to Chapter 4 of the Collective Security Treaty Organization agreement, members of the treaty are pledged to consult, in the event of a threat, with one or several members, and to provide mutual aid if attacked.⁷⁷

The abovementioned factors, the size, geopolitical location, and resources make Russia the dominant country in the region. Therefore, it is very important for the Republic of Armenia to consider the Russian factor in any decision making process. As an example of this statement, a possible option (scenario) of a UN peacekeeping or NATO intervention mission in Syria can be developed.

According to the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia*, the participation of the armed forces in a peacekeeping mission would not be against our vital or secondary national interests. The main reason for our participation would be the Armenian diaspora in Syria, and humanitarian assistance to the Syrian government. According to the Ministry of Diaspora of Armenia, the number of Armenians living in Syria is around 100,000, which makes them the largest Christian community in the country. In the case of NATO intervention in Syria, the chances of Armenian participation by providing troops to the existing operation will not be huge due to the already discussed Russian factor. We all know the position of the Russian Federation regarding the Syria problem. Russians addressed the UN several times stating that they

⁷⁶ Nichol, 32.

⁷⁷ The Collective Security Treaty Organization is an intergovernmental military alliance consisting of six post-Soviet republics: Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Collective Security Treaty Organization, “Collective Security Treaty Organization.”

will not vote for any kind of intervention in Syria, and that Russia is against any multinational intervention in Syria. If Armenia, as a sovereign country, decides to protect our fellow brothers and sisters in Syria or assist the Syrians with humanitarian assistance, what would be Russia's reaction? There are certain issues that must be comprehensively reviewed and analyzed before taking any action or decision. Some of them are critical and very difficult in their nature, e.g. the fact that Armenia depends on Russian energy resources, and other issues. Confrontation with Russia is definitely not in Armenia's national interest, and in such case, the political leaders of the country should conduct careful and detailed analysis and find alternative solutions.

Another significant issue for the regional consideration is the factor of Turkey. As a growing political and military power in the region, the Turkish government attempts to demonstrate to its internal and external audience that the country is a key role player in the region and issues regarding the region must be discussed with the latter.

Because of the genocide of Armenians in 1915, the Republic of Armenia does not maintain diplomatic relations with Turkey. The tension between the two countries grew due to recent events that took place in the Syrian city of Kessab in March of 2014.⁷⁸ A number of international and Armenian newspapers blamed Turkey for ethnic cleansing in Kessab, while Turkey denied any intervention in Kessab. It is not the first time that the Turkish government denies barbarian actions against unarmed populations. Although this tension exists and it is not something new for Armenia, as a democratic country, the Republic of Armenia is seeking normalization of relations with Turkey. This is also

⁷⁸ Kessab is an Armenian-populated town in northwestern Syria, administratively part of the Latakia Governorate.

mentioned in the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia*. Again, in the cases involving interactions with Turkey, some questions have to be addressed before making any decision.

Small countries with limited resources, budget, and influence have to balance their decisions according to their national interests. Sometimes these countries have hidden agendas for their goals and interests. In certain circumstances, countries will not publish or announce their national security goals or objectives (e.g. during the OIF campaign some countries contributed to the coalition efforts without having their flags displayed). This might not be an option or a suggestion for Armenia, but the political leaders of Armenia might consider it.

Mere knowledge of the country's national interest is not sufficient to frame or even design national or strategic decisions. The political leaders of Armenia must identify and assess the cost, risks, and benefits of conducting strategic decisions. In this case, the risk is an assessment of the balance between what is known, assumed, and unknown, as well as the communication link between what is to be achieved, the proposed concepts, and also available resources.⁷⁹ For Armenia, risk assessment is not only a matter of failure and success, but it is also a matter of consequences.

The existence of other state-actors, like Russia, is one of the many factors that must be considered in any strategic decision-making or development process. During the strategic analysis, these factors could be the key for development and implementation of an effective strategy. With proper understanding and analysis of these factors, the country's leadership will be able to develop and achieve policy goals and objectives.

⁷⁹ Yarger.

Military Considerations and Perspectives

Advantages and Benefits of Multinational Operations

For small countries, achieving strategic objectives requires great concentration and use of available powers or resources. Usually, small countries have limited resources. Therefore, countries like Armenia have to utilize their limited resources as effectively and efficiently as possible. A source of power for the Republic of Armenia can be its own armed forces. The Republic of Armenia needs to consider whether it has the military capacity to designate a part of its armed forces for multinational operations and at the same time to retain adequate forces to provide safe and secure borders for the country. However, before declaring that the army is ready to participate in peacekeeping or multinational operations, the army must analyze certain factors to understand if the participation meets the requirements or needs.

By participating in multinational operations, the army contributes to the reputation of the country. During almost 10 years of participation in multinational operations, the Armenian Armed Forces officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted personnel, have gained an irreplaceable experience and learned lessons that will be used in the Armenian army. However, there are some risks, of which the Armenian army should be aware. The military is a leading institution in Armenia. It is an institution with different views, values, and beliefs. The army operates 24 months' mandatory conscription service that makes the army's role very important in Armenia. Every young soldier who arrives in a unit represents one community, one family, personality, and a part of society. The same society is very demanding when it comes to contribution and keeping up the reputation of the army. Hereby, it is the Army's responsibility to prepare

the society to understand the risks incurred by multinational operations. The population of Armenia is well aware of such risks and until now, no issues were raised regarding that. The public opinion might change with the number of casualties. This could significantly affect the popular support for the army. Public opinion could also lead to some confrontations on the political level between the political parties where the leading party might get into a difficult situation facing the issue of how to explain or justify the involvement of Armenia in multinational operations. This may result in failure to achieve the necessary political consensus, and consequently, in termination of the deployment and repatriation of the troops. Thus, the casualties determine whether there will be public support, and the lack of public support ultimately determines whether there will be participation in multinational operations at all.

Besides the fact that the army will gain a certain reputation inside the country, the army will also be presented to the international arena. The fact of limited budget or resources that small countries' possess has been mentioned several times during this research. Being a small country does not always imply a negative meaning. As a small country, Armenia has great capabilities of exclusively structured peacekeeping forces. Due to limited resources, the peacekeeping unit has to implement some principles for sustainability, such as economy and improvisation of existing resources.⁸⁰

By being well organized, Armenian Armed Forces have shown that no mission is impossible. Year by year, the peacekeeping unit is carving out its reputation among international partners by providing professional and well trained officers and

⁸⁰ Headquarters, Department of the Army, Army Doctrine Publication 4-0, *Sustainment* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2012), ch. 1.

noncommissioned officers for common missions either for NATO or other types of operations.

Along with the desire to improve the country's and army's reputation, there are some other benefits which might not be recognized in the short term. One of the benefits that the Armenian army might achieve from contribution to multinational operations, is the experience gained from partner countries or host nation militaries. As previously mentioned in chapter 1, the Armenian Armed Forces participated in multinational operations with Greece, Germany, and the United States, and have been able to effectively integrate with those countries' military staff, including multinational and national staff positions. Our militaries are widely integrated in multinational or national staff positions. The cooperation with other countries provides opportunities for the Armenian military leaders to develop innovative ways to organize and operate units based on these multinational exchanges with other militaries. The coalition partnership programs benefit not only Armenia, but our partners also. As previously mentioned in the research, Kansas National Guard Adjutant General Lee Tafari said, "It is the different and fresh look that Armenian officials can give us and make us rethink whether the way things have always been done is the best way to do them."⁸¹

The next section is dedicated to challenges and limitations. It will explore and discuss some of the considerations and challenges that microstates such as Armenia and the Armenian Armed Forces usually face during multinational deployments.

⁸¹ Armenian News Agency, "Armenian Delegation in USA in Framework of Kansas Partnership."

Challenges and Limitations

A country's participation in multinational operations might entail different challenges that any army can face, including those of a common military nature, and those of a political nature. Discerning and understanding what these challenges are is the focus of this discussion.

The analysis of *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia* shows that the participation of Armenian Armed Forces in multinational operations is not against the national interest of the Republic of Armenia. However, this does not mean that the army must blindly follow the political decisions without proper examination of the military factors and circumstances. In this regard, consideration can be given to the phenomenon of checks and balances presented in the US Army Command and General Staff Officer Course C200 block, Civil Military Relations, which presents the principle of government under which the separate branches are empowered to prevent actions by other branches and are induced to share power. The principle of checks and balances is primarily for constitutional governments. Taking into consideration the possibility of the use of this principle, the army leaders might conclude that possible participation is not justified, feasible or even acceptable, or it may create risks.

Armenian Armed Forces' contribution to multinational operations is unique in itself, and it requires detailed analysis of not only regional, strategic, geographic, and political developments around the world in general, but of military factors. In addition to this, consideration must be given to the principle of Broken Dialogue, which means

frustration or gap between the civilian leaders and the militaries.⁸² This is another challenge that includes elements of political involvement during the planning and execution of multinational operations. According to the provided data, there are three basic differences in the civil-military relationships.

The first difference is presented as a cultural clash between military and civilian leaders. Sometimes political leaders understand the meaning of the victory and use of forces in a different way from that of the army leaders. The second difference is the politicians' desire to solve a broad set of political issues and relatively quick planning and execution of actions, while the army provides detailed and slow planning and often times does not meet the desires or requirements of the politicians. The third difference is the disagreement between policy makers and military professionals, which usually exists during the problem solving process.

The challenges or policies, which might cause disagreement between the army leadership and politicians, are not excluded. Before the country leadership declares that the army is ready to join multinational operations, they should comprehensively analyze all factors, resources, and circumstances to understand if such participation meets the army's requirements and objectives.

Besides the concerns and considerations of the civil-military relationship, the army has its own military (internal) challenges that require extensive mobilization and coordination of efforts. One of the biggest challenges for a non-NATO country to

⁸² Janine Davidson, "The Contemporary Presidency: Civil-Military Friction and Presidential Decision Making: Explaining the Broken Dialogue," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (March 2013): 129-145, reprinted in Department of Joint Interagency and Multinational Operations, C-205 Civil-Military Relations, reading part D (Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Army Command and General Staff College, 2014), 129-144.

participate in NATO-led operation is interoperability. NATO has developed a number of tools, mechanisms, individual action plans, and programs to help partner nations to overcome the challenges of interoperability. Most of those mechanisms are designed to help partner countries involved in a peace program. One of the programs that Armenia implements to bring its armed forces to the same level of interoperability with partner countries is the Operational Capabilities Concept Evaluation and Feedback Program.⁸³ This program allows Armenia to develop and train previously declared forces available for NATO-led operations and the NATO Response Force, so that they meet NATO standards. Since 2008, Armenia has developed this concept and has been training its peacekeeping brigade in accordance with NATO standards. It is not a rapid system, or a matter of knowledge. It is designed in a way that requires a certain period, and the country has to be sure that the declared forces are ready and interoperable with partners.

Interoperability requires effective operation based on standards, training, exercises, and lessons learned.⁸⁴ The benefits of being in multinational operations can be seen here. Another great benefit of being part of multinational operations is the ability to implement the gained experience and lessons learned, as well as the knowledge obtained in the Operational Capabilities Concept program.

One of the common problems that the small countries face during multinational operations is the command and control relationships. According to US Joint Publication

⁸³ North Atlantic Treaty Organization, “Operational Capabilities Concept Evaluation and Feedback Program,” accessed 12 April 2014, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_80925.htm.

⁸⁴ North Atlantic Treaty Organization, “Interoperability: Connecting NATO Forces,” last updated 11 May 2012, accessed 12 April 2014, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_84112.htm.

3-16, countries that participate in multinational operations will always have at least two distinct chains of command: a national chain of command and a multinational chain of command.⁸⁵ To avoid command and coordination related issues during deployment, such as who is in charge of giving orders or who controls the other side, a country's military leadership has to regulate those issues in close cooperation with the supporting nation prior to deployment. It is important to clarify and recognize the command and control relationship between the parties prior to deployment by signing the memorandum.

According to the same source, the national command remains responsible for organization, guidance, coordination, control, planning, and employment of the deployed forces. The multinational chain of command is normally negotiated between the participating countries and can vary from country to country. Depending on the mission and some other important factors, participation in multinational operations can be implemented in two ways: direct integration to the multinational forces structure, which means to present oneself as a self-sustained unit; or indirectly through a bilateral agreement with the medium or small size unit integrated in a multinational formation.⁸⁶

Armenia faces another issue, which most of the small countries consider during the planning process. As already mentioned, due to the lack of resources small countries participate in multinational operations with the support of other countries that can provide either transportation or other logistics support. In accordance with the existing international standards and regulations, countries that are not self-sustained in the area of operation, have to sign a Memorandum of Understanding.

⁸⁵ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 3-16, 30.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 11, 30, 33, 35.

There are several other challenges and considerations that countries could face during deployments in multinational operations, such as medical, legal, cultural, rules of engagement, and other issues. These challenges, along with the aforementioned factors, must be considered in detail during the planning process. For example, some small countries may lack medical facilities or military police units. Issues like this have to be considered and resolved in order to avoid different complications during the deployment phases.

All those aforementioned considerations are extremely important for the Republic of Armenia. Participation in multinational operations must outweigh the possible disadvantages and meet the required objectives that are derived from national security strategy. The next chapter will summarize and answer the main and secondary questions by using supportive and argumentative facts that have been highlighted in this research.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The importance of multinational operations is addressed in many countries’ national security strategies. For some nations, it is one of the modern ways to train their armies in realistic combat situations, and it is extremely important for small nations. In the current geopolitical situations, the foreign policies of small states are usually determined by their national security strategy and the Republic of Armenia is no exception.

The *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia* is a core document setting the goals, objectives, and actions for the government to address to solve internal and external security issues and challenges, determine the main development directions, and shape the country’s foreign policy priorities. Therefore, any policy implementation or decision made by the government of the Republic of Armenia and its agencies should be consistent with the provisions of the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia* and the existing foreign policy of the country.⁸⁷

The current security challenges and practices proved that the end to future conflicts would mainly be through large-scale armies. In such challenges and conflicts, success also relies on a relatively small army’s contributions and integrations, or the so-called alliances and coalitions. Very often, the contributors with limited forces can have great input in support of joint mission. Past practices and experience indicate that they can efficiently communicate and cooperate. The problem is that small nations have to

⁸⁷ Republic of Armenia, *National Security Strategy of Republic of Armenia*.

find their own ways to continue the contribution. In the case of Armenia, the government should consider some vital factors before taking any action. Some of the important factors are political and military, the unresolved conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, regional key actors' interests, and the influence of Russia and Armenian diaspora. The last one is unique for Armenia, given that today the population of Armenians worldwide is estimated at more than 12 million, while the population of the Republic of Armenia is only 3.2 million.

This research paper discusses such questions as: what are the political, military, and diplomatic factors that contribute to Armenia's participation in multinational operations as a paradigm within the family of small and developing countries? A discussion of these questions can be found in the four sub-questions developed and answered in chapter 4, namely: (1) what political and military factors does Armenia need to consider when conducting multinational operations? (2) how does the leadership of Armenia maintain a balanced foreign policy with Russia and the West by participation in multinational operations? (3) what is the role of Armenian diaspora and how can this community influence the decisions on multinational operations: and (4) how does Armenian Armed Forces benefit from multinational operations and what are the challenges for the military.

According to the analysis in this research paper, there are three major factors that the Republic of Armenia has to consider when making a strategic decision on its contribution to a multinational operation, i.e. political, Armenian diaspora, and regional factors. All of them are equally important and have their substantial roles in the decision making process. The question is why they are so important for the Republic of Armenia.

In this context, the first consideration is the political factor, and it is probably the first step in considering whether the country should start the political dialogue or not. As previously mentioned in chapter 4, for true success to emerge, political consensus among all involved parties must be achieved through focused dialogue and negotiation.

However, the political consensus is also required during the performance phase of the multinational operations. The absence of such consensus might result in unplanned or unexpected termination of the mission that will negatively affect the country's reputation on international arena.

Another important factor for the Republic of Armenia is the diaspora; the other half of the Armenian people, half of the heart of Armenia. Armenian diaspora have always had an important role in shaping Armenia's foreign policy. It also has significant impact on the country's economy. Armenians from all over the world help their relatives and families, and encourage foreign investments. Every year, Armenians all over the world get together and conduct a telethon to raise funds in support of different regions of Armenia, including the Nagorno-Karabakh region. Even in 2012, when the current president was running for his second term, during his election campaign, he visited most of the biggest communities of Armenian diaspora, including the United States, Russia, Argentina, France, and other countries.

The final factor for planning the participation in the multinational operations is undoubtedly the regional consideration, the location of the country, and the key actors in the region involved in the decision making process. Countries are not like humans, and they cannot choose their neighbors. The countries' locations determine how to deal with their neighbors, and particularly with strong ones. Small states' relationships with their

strong neighbors are determined by geopolitical realities or common interests.⁸⁸ The Russian Federation plays an important role in Armenia's security. This is illustrated in several areas, the most important of which are the historical and friendly ties between Armenians and Russians, the level of economic relationship, Russia's role and efforts in solving the unresolved issue of Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenian diaspora in Russia, the 102nd Russian Armed Forces Base in Gyumri, and the strategic and military partnership between the countries.

Considering Russia's economic and military capacities, it would not be hard for someone to call the Russian Federation the number one dominant country in the Caucasus region, in addition to all of the aforementioned factors that make the Russian Federation the number one strategic partner for Armenia. Therefore, it is very important for the Republic of Armenia to consider the Russian factor, and in some cases, the Russian opinion in decision-making process. A great example of that could be the possible future developments in Syria, as already mentioned in the chapter 4.

Accordingly, there is no single one for all approach to this problem. None of the countries in the region can have the same factors and considerations. All three of the aforementioned factors are unique and vital for Armenia and cannot be ignored. Having said that and in acknowledgment of current challenges, the Republic of Armenia should carefully analyze every case of participation in multinational or peacekeeping operations. The decision to participate in any multinational operation should comply with guidelines set by the National Security Strategy. Apparently, the decision largely depends on the

⁸⁸ Efram Karsh, *Neutrality and Small States* (repr. New York: Routledge Inc., 2012), 81.

aforementioned factors and considerations. According to the analysis in chapter 4, in the process of providing international security and during participation in various multinational operations, Armenian Armed Forces mandatorily adhere to the requirements and the rules stipulated by the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia* and “The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia.”

The country’s decision to participation in multinational operations should not only be based on or limited by those factors and considerations. The advantages and challenges of such participation should also be measured. The analysis in chapter 4 shows that to achieve its strategic objectives, Armenia requires a great concentration and use of available powers and resources. Therefore, the country must utilize the limited resources as effectively and efficiently as possible. Meanwhile, the Republic of Armenia must consider whether the country has the political will and the military capacity to provide part of its armed forces for multinational operations and at the same time, retain adequate forces to keep the borders of the country safe and secure.

Before declaring that the army is ready to participate in multinational operations, military leaders should make a detailed analysis of certain factors to understand if such participation meets the army’s requirements and objectives. By participating in multinational operations, the army strengthens the reputation of the country. Moreover, the army will potentially gain a significant trust and status within the country and be present in the international arena. One of the greatest benefits gained from multinational participation are the experiences and procedures that are shared with other militaries.

Participation in multinational operations is not only about benefits, it also has challenges and constraints that have already been discussed. Some of them include

interoperability issues and logistical constraints. Those constraints and issues constitute the important facts and realities, continuities, and emerging trends, they are at the point of communication inside the system and between the systems. While military leaders are trying to analyze and carefully weigh the factors, they must develop an effective strategy, in order to achieve the goals and objectives.⁸⁹

An effective strategy developed by military decision makers must be expressed in terms of ends, ways, and means, within supportable boundaries of feasibility, suitability, acceptability model.⁹⁰ The following conclusion model is based on the US Army Command and General Staff Officer Course C200 block, strategic estimate reading materials, “Implications of the Strategic Environment.”

Suitability: Armenia’s participation in multinational operations must meet the suitability criterion. Here the decision makers should address the question of whether the achievements of the objectives using the proper instruments of national power accomplish the desired strategic results.

Feasibility: the decision must meet the feasibility criterion. The question to be addressed here is whether Armenia with limited available resources is able to execute the

⁸⁹ Dr. Harry R. Yarger, “Theory in the Real World, Implications of the Strategic Environment,” in “Strategic Theory for the 21st Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy” (Monograph, Strategic Studies Institute, The U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, February, 2006), reprinted in Department of Joint Interagency and Multinational Operations, C-204 Strategic Concepts, reading part D (Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Army Command and General Staff College, 2014), 1-3.

⁹⁰ Dr. Harry R. Yarger, “Implications of the Strategic Environment,” in “Strategic Theory for the 21st Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy” (monograph, Strategic Studies Institute, The U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, February, 2006), reprinted in Department of Joint Interagency and Multinational Operations, C-204 Strategic Concepts, reading part D (Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Army Command and General Staff College, 2014), 1-5.

strategic concept. Despite limited resources, the Armenian army is considered well organized. The Armenian Armed Forces have proven several times that no mission is impossible. The peacekeeping unit is carving out its reputation among international partners by providing professional militaries for common mission accomplishment.

Acceptability: finally, every decision must be acceptable. A proper question to be addressed here is whether the strategic effects justify the objectives being pursued. In other words, does the end justify the means?⁹¹ In this process, there are considerations such as public opinion, international or world opinion, actions/reactions of allies, adversaries, other nations, and key actors in the region.

There are several ways to determine and assess the risks, and risks must be considered when developing a strategy. The following questions have been presented during the US Army Command and General Staff Officer Course strategic estimate lessons. The risk determination according to Dr. Harry R. Yarger's monograph "Strategic Theory for the 21st Century, The Little Book on Big Strategy," presents the following questions for examination concerning risks:

⁹¹ Stack Exchange Inc., "Accepted interpretation of Machiaveelli-s "The Ends Justify the Means?" accessed 11 November 2014, <http://philosophy.stackexchange.com/questions/2276/accepted-interpretation-of-machiavellis-the-ends-justify-the-means>.

- What assumptions were made in this strategy, and what is the effect if any of them is wrong?
- What internal or external factors were considered in the development of the strategy? What change in regard to these factors would positively or adversely affect the success or effects of the strategy?
- What flexibility or adaptability is inherent to the components of the strategy? How can the strategy be modified and at what cost?
- How will other actors react to what has been attempted or achieved? How will they react to the way in which the strategy was pursued?
- What is the balance between intended and unintended consequences?
- How will chance or friction play in this strategy?⁹²

The suitability, feasibility, and acceptability questions articulated above are questions about the validity of the strategy that is going to be developed and implemented. If one of the answers to those questions is negative, then the concept or the strategy most likely is not valid, and it is risky.⁹³ The detailed and careful analysis of the facts and assumptions, as well as proper considerations should guide the decision makers to precise and right decisions.

Each multinational operation is a unique challenge, not only for the armed forces, but also for the country's political leadership and foreign policy. Having said that, the approaches must be different and complementary in order to keep the balance between ends, ways, and means, and risks must be mitigated as much as possible.

⁹² Yarger, "Theory in the Real World, Implications of the Strategic Environment," 10-11.

⁹³ Ibid.

Recommendations

Based on this research paper, the Armenian Army should adopt a certain methodology which can be utilized as an assessment tool in order to prioritize partners, address issues, assess risks, consider challenges, and other factors important for planning and consideration of participation in multinational operations. Considering the country's abilities to deploy its forces outside its borders, the army leadership can create an evaluation group or a temporary working task group in order to analyze and balance the management of limited resources in the most efficient way. The evaluation group might be permanent or created upon mission deployment.

In this context, being one who participates in multinational operations, the UN-led operations would probably be the less challenging option for Armenia. The factors, considerations, and issues analyzed in this thesis will remain, but the political implications will be mitigated. Armenia's possible cooperation and contribution to the UN-led operations will not only benefit the country financially, but it will also help the country to keep the balance of complementary policy between the West and Russia.⁹⁴ Based on this assumption, Armenia's political and military leadership might consider joining the UN rapid deployable regionally aligned forces. It is a pool of forces where every nation, by joining it, declares its participation in global UN peacekeeping efforts with certain readiness and available number of troops to deploy its peacekeepers.

Further research will allow the political and military leadership of Armenia to understand more comprehensively the very mission of the UN rapid deployable forces,

⁹⁴ In 2008, the author participated with the Armenian official delegation in the meeting at the UN department of peacekeeping operation, where it was mentioned that soldiers are paid by the UN.

and how this may affect the development of Armenia's foreign policy concerning multinational operation participation. Participation becomes a forcing function in order to analyze the pros and cons, as well as developing alliances with other nations.

ILLUSTRATIONS

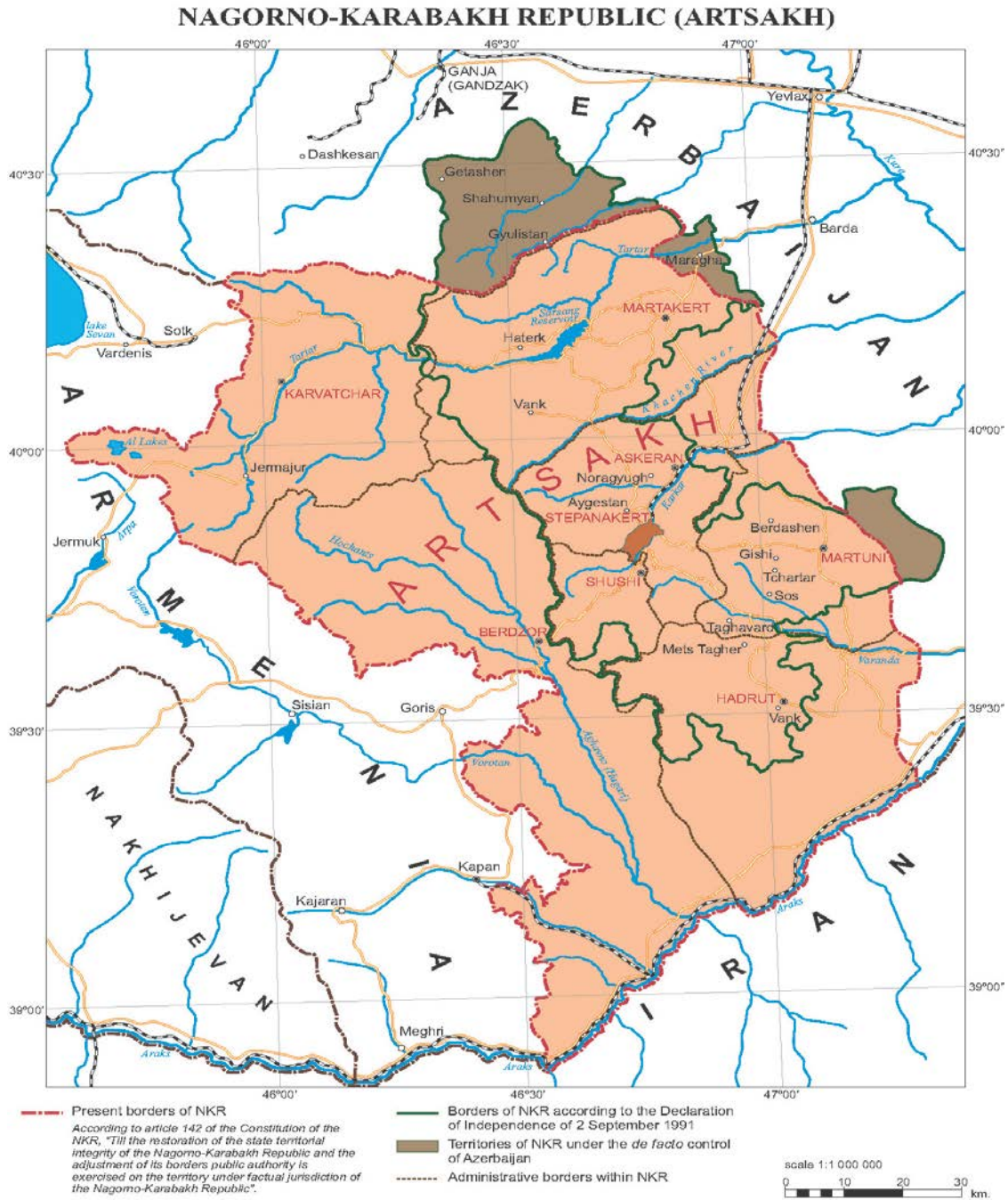


Figure 1. Map of Nagorno-Karabakh

Source: Karabakh Facts, "Nagorno-Karabakh Republic," International and Comparative Law Center, accessed 9 November 2014, <http://karabakhfacts.com/nagorno-karabakh-republic-artsakh-map/>.



Figure 2. State Partnership Nations Map

Source: United States European Command, "State Partnership Nations Map," accessed 9 November 2014, <http://www.eucom.mil/key-activities/partnership-programs/national-guard-state-partnership-program>.

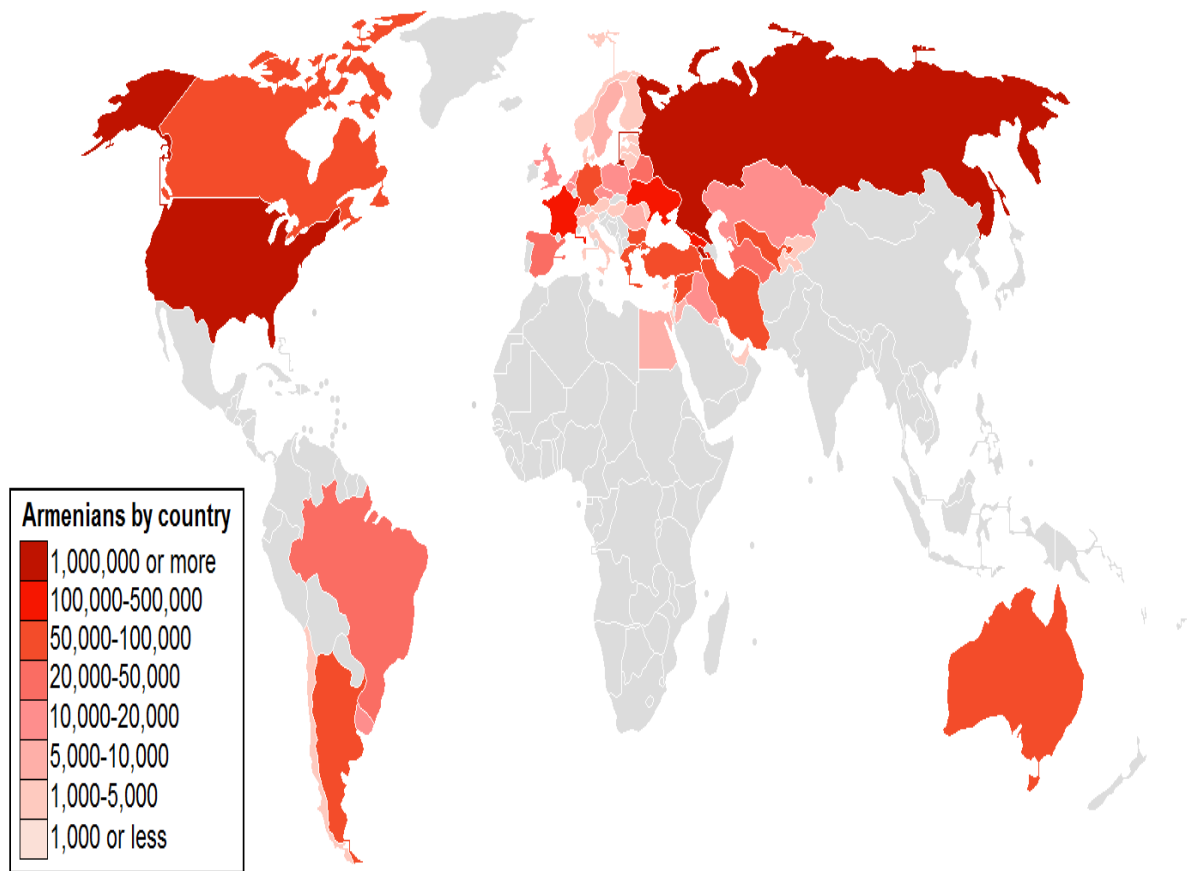


Figure 3. World Map of Armenian Diaspora

Source: Blog News, “World Map of Armenian Diaspora,” accessed 9 November 2014, <http://blognews.am/arm/news/38905/hayer-ashkharhum.html>.

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